1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

[421 613 423 311] width, depending on the amount of village-owned land and the number of paternal lineages that share in the division. Each section runs from lagoon (*tai*) to outer beach (*tua*) missing out the talo beds and reserve lands owned by the village. Thus the sections of Ngake run straight through from *tai* to *tua*; those of Loto run to Uta, then stop and pick up the line again on the northern side of the reserve whence they extend to the outer beach. [744] The cemeteries of each paternal lineage and of each sub-lineage are situated on the section of the lineage. Through patrilocal residence, all male members of the paternal lineage reside on another part of the same section of land. The *kaava* are named for the paternal lineages.

Besides the two sections running from *tai* to *tua*, the paternal lineages of Loto also own smaller sections in Uta. Four land divisions on the western side of Uta are controlled by the sub-lineages of the *po* i Tua. The names of these divisions (*na kaava i te tawa lalo*) are: Te Fa, Taikaiana, Te Welo-i-te-kilikili, Te Auma. Four divisions (*na kaava i te tawa ngake*) on the eastern side of the reserve are divided among the sub-lineages of Yangalipule *po*. Their names are: Te Utu, Wala-lalala, Te Wele, Te Paapaa.

[341] The lineage sections of Yato run from *tai* to *tua* on the strip of land east of the causeway, the only site of Yato in former times. Ngake informants recognize none other than these; Yato informants, feeling that the transfer of part of the village to the site west of the causeway and the opening up for residence of what was formerly taro land enable them to speak legitimately of further sections in this western extension of Yato, state that by fiction if not by tradition, the three Yato lineages have second strips running from lagoon to Nina in the western section of the village.

421 613 241 428 The coconut trees, talo beds, and bush timbers on all sections are of two kinds: first, those owned by the people of the lineage in common and shared among all members; second, those individually owned by male and female members of the lineage who alone are allowed to plant or to own trees on the section. Coconut trees of the first type descend in the lineage corporation and are not alienable. Trees of the second type are inheritable among individual members of the lineage, but are not alienable outside of it.

423 613 692 Each section (*kaava*) is further subdivided into homestead lots named *yiluvaga*. These lots are the subdivisions of the sections on which, in general, male members of the paternal lineage live with their families. Through marriage, adoption, choice, or inheritance of a house, people of different lineages come to live together on the same homestead lot, but the tendency is for all living on the same lot to be related by some kinship tie, close or remote. Only people belonging directly to the lineage that owns the section on which the lot is located may plant or privately own trees or talo beds or be said to own houses sites on the lots.

t:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

Informants stated that in former days there were fewer canoes than today. A tapu (*lani*) for protecting a canoe tree was instituted by making four cuts on the bole of a tree, about 6 feet from the ground. Most canoes, especially the large ones, were the property of the paternal lineage groups, each of which might own from one to three canoes. As the canoes belonged to the corporate entity, no problem of inheritance arose.

The ownership of nut trees has already been mentioned. Like trees in the reserves, individually owned trees are protected by a tapu of a coconut midrib. *Pukama* trees are also individually owned and are very valuable in that the leaves provide the best plant material for fertilizing (*uakalepo*) the talo beds. *Pukama* and coconut trees are planted over the buried afterbirth of the new-born child along the boundaries of homestead lots. Individual control of *pukama* trees is carefully guarded. During the season for mulching (*uakalepo*) the talo, it is not uncommon for two women to enter into physical encounters over rights to *pukama* trees which both claim to control.

Individual named talo beds (*ui tangata taki tai*)—twenty-two in all on Wale (see pl. 1, *A*)—are inherited in the male line, or according to bequest. They have been excavated and named by individuals in the past. Some of the names of owners, as given by informants, refer to living people, others to the original makers of the beds, one or more generations back. Few Ngake talo beds remain on Wale; most private beds were situated close to the old site of Ngake village at Umpoa, and were destroyed by the tidal wave that overwhelmed the village in 1914. The beds were filled in with sand, and have since been planted with nuts; new talo beds are being excavated now on Motu Ko.

Inheritance of other items of personal property is according to rule or by right of bequest (*uakauiti*). When an individual dies, much of his property—adzes, pearl-shell hooks and ornaments, malos, sleeping mats—is buried with him. If he dies intestate, all that remains after the survivors have fulfilled the last duties to the deceased is divided among the children, blood and adopted. When an individual has made a bequest before death, his property is divided accordingly. Fear of retribution by the spirit of the deceased if the terms of the bequest are not strictly carried out insures that the last wishes of the dying man will be fulfilled.

The house is generally inherited by children or paternal male relatives of the deceased. Two exceptions in which the house was inherited by the wife of the deceased came to light in the census.

In one household in Yato, the mother is a Lwo woman, twice married. Her first marriage was with a Yato man, and residence was patrilocal. When her husband died, the widow inherited the house and occupied it in Yato. When she remarried, her second husband came from Ngake to live with her in this house. In a household in Ngake, a widow and her children continue to reside in the deceased husband's house. The widow is referred to as the owner of the house, but since her children are young,

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

226 ported by the notch in the rear seat (*pulunga matila*). When a bonito engaged the hook, the rod pressed against the captain's fundament. He reached out with his right hand, grasped the rod, swung it around to the right side of the canoe, and landed the fish in the canoe. When the crew sighted a school of fish, the men paddled furiously to reach the school and kept paddling to remain with it. The captain stood up and faced the rear of the canoe. He held the handgrip (*tukau*) of the rod against the thigh with the left hand, grasping the rod some distance toward the point with the right hand. The man next to the rodman gently splashed (*tapipi*) water on the hook which trailed on the surface. When a bonito hit the hook, the rod was flipped up and the fish came flying in toward the rodman. It struck him on the chest or belly, and the impact of the striking disentangled the fish from the hook. As the fish fell into the bottom of the canoe, the rod was immediately swung out again. To swing the fish to the belly is *ya tata*. A bungling or inexpert rodman who lost his fish in mid-air was referred to as *ya kowikowi*.

226 While the canoe was on or near a bonito school, it was tapu to drop anything overboard, whether paddle or other article, or a fish from the rod. The dropped object or the dropped fish, by its rapid tail-spin descent through the water, frightened the school. 688 The man who dropped anything overboard was reported to the old men and was fined 578 by this body 50 talo puddings (*usuvu*) or the equivalent. Today, when one man has a grudge against another, a pleasant form of revenge is to wait until the enemy is on a school of bonito and then to come up quietly from behind and drop a paddle overboard. It was also tapu formerly to let the rod slip from the thigh. The rodman who allowed his rod to slip was reported by his crew to the old men and by them fined 1,000 talo puddings. The slipping of the rod was extremely serious: it not only allowed a fish to drop and frighten the school but might also entangle the hooks and waste precious time. If such an incident was not reported to the old men, the god Malikitolangi punished the crew by striking the canoe with lightning.

226 When the canoes came back to the reef after a day of fishing, the crew signalled 202 the people waiting on the western beach the number of fish caught during the day. These signals were made by holding a wet paddle in the air and twisting it so that it flashed (*lapa*) in the sunlight. One flash given by a man standing upright in a canoe meant that the canoe had caught 100 fish, two flashes meant 200 fish, and so on. If one canoe had caught 150 fish and another canoe 50, then 50 fish from the first canoe were transferred (*tauhele*) to the second canoe. The man in the first canoe stood to flash his paddle, but the man in the second canoe remained seated when he flashed. If two or more canoes caught between them more than 100 fish but less than 200, then only one standing flash from one canoe was allowed. Three canoes allowed one or more flashes each approached the reef first.

226 The captains of the returning canoes carefully washed their bonito hooks and lines 776 in fresh water after arriving home. This act is *tukuvaingalo*. Hooks were soaked in a bowl (*hunuto*) of fresh water, or submerged in a fresh-water pool. Placing hooks in a pool of water was sometimes perilous as stories tell of men whose hooks were stolen from these pools while they attended to other duties. Hooks lost from the rod at sea were believed to be taken by fish to the underseas house of the god Tetelea and there stored by him in the rafters of his house.

226 Bonito fishing is dying out in Pukapuka today, because, it is said, the 178 fish are vanishing from Pukapukan waters. The old ceremonial is already 523 gone. Whereas formerly a canoe might easily catch 100 or more during one 764 day, now a canoe is lucky to return with three or four fish, an inadequate return for the hard physical labor involved. Bonito hooks are hoarded as valuable heirlooms and for use as death gifts.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

CLOTHING

291
177 The Pukapukans today wear European dress termed *kakau* (coverings). Formerly the everyday dress of the man was the *malo launiu* of plaited coconut leaf; that of the woman, the coconut leaf kilt (*titi launiu*). These articles of clothing were called generically *uakakawu*; any clothing or ornament attached to the waist was called *lulu taukupu*. In general clothing was worn below the hips. Today men retain this pattern in the way they fasten trousers below the hips.

The technique of making the man's coconut-leaf malo has been given (p. 141). To wear the malo, the strings are tied round the waist, the body of plaited material is placed over the genitals, and the braided tail is passed between the legs and fastened to the strings at the back. The woman's kilt of coconut leaf reaches to the knees.

294 The kilt is made by splitting leaflet-carrying strips of appropriate length from the butt end of the cocoanut leaf. The strips are made thin and soft by tearing off superfluous fibers with the teeth and by chewing. Four of these strips are placed together in pairs, with the rough side of the strips in juxtaposition. The two pairs of strips are tied together at 3-inch intervals with strips of midrib fiber (*kalavu*). Each leaflet is split longitudinally by removing the leaflet midrib (*tua*), and may be split again any number of times with the thumb nail. A length of two-ply twisted sennit is tied to each end of the midrib strip waistband by which the kilt is fastened round the waist. There is no record that the leaflets of the kilt were ever plaited or braided together. Kilt C81pa conforms in all particulars to the above description.

293
283 Back supports of twisted fiber are sometimes worn. Formerly these girdles were made of the bark of the *uelo* tree.

The bark was removed from the trunk of the tree and soaked in salt water for about two weeks. Strips of bark were then cut to the appropriate length and width and soaked in fresh water until the bark was white and tough. Dyed red, the bark was used as streamers for ornamental headdresses. Left white and twisted into a cord termed *matai uelo*, it was used to make the champion's ring at a wrestling contest or was wound round the waist (*pepelu ki te matai uelo*) to support the back against strains. Today mourners sitting round a corpse for 24 hours or longer tie a sennit cord round the waist to support the back against the strain of continuous sitting.

[764]

291 Sandals of elaborate type are unknown. But when, after prolonged reef fishing, the soles of the fisherman become very soft from long immersion in water, he may strip coconut leaf stipule (*kaka niu*) from a tree by the beach, fold these strips to a suitable thickness, and tie them on his feet with lengths of coconut midrib fiber (*kalavu*). These foot coverings, termed descriptively *uakomalu vae* (foot soothers), were worn over the sharp and hot coral until the soles hardened again.

Uncovered heads are exposed to the sun only for short periods. Adults who are to be out in the sun for some time invariably wear hats or make a rough head covering out of coconut leaves. No eye shade was or is worn to protect the eyes from the glare of the sun.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

292 294

girdle with a single overhand knot so that an inch or more of the green end projects above the knot. The projecting end is laid along the girdle. The second leaf is similarly fastened over both green end of first leaf and girdle, the third leaf over the green end of second leaf and girdle. The process is repeated until a girdle of sufficient length is obtained. A plain headband of *mako uulo* leaf is worn with this girdle.

Girdles of *tamatamako*, *lakau yili*, *pole puka*, and *maile* are made by placing twigs of the plant into bundles, each with the butts in the same direction. Each bundle is overlapped with the next bundle, the butts of the first bundle with the leaves of the second, and the girdle is bound together with continuous transverse turns of fiber stripped from the coconut midrib.

Girdles of banana leaves are made by stringing the stalks of a number of banana leaves on a coconut midrib fiber.

The girdle of coconut leaves is made by tying the ends of a strip of midrib-carrying leaflets round the waist.

293 301

Any of these girdles may be worn as a bandolier by slipping it over the head and allowing it to fall across chest and shoulder. A bandolier of the *nau* plant is a favorite decoration of Ngake villagers. A thin strip of coconut midrib is bent into a circle and the ends fastened together. *Nau* twigs are laid round the rim of midrib and bound to it with transverse turns of green coconut leaflet.

Waist girdles made of pieces of pearl shell shaped like the shanks of small composite pearl-shell fishhooks and strung on a length of *nau* fiber were termed *nau titi ai*. They were worn as a fringe across the front of the waist on top of the basis garment. This ornament was a prized one and was worn only by persons of status. It was also an appropriate gift to give to the corpse of a beloved relative. One was seen by the grave diggers who opened an old grave by mistake (p. 164), but there is none on the island today.

[764]

Edge-Partington (8, 2d ser., pl. 38,3) sketches a "girdle worn by men consisting of a long string of cowrie shells. The string passes along the mouth of the shell and plugged (*sic*)." This girdle, which is in the British Museum, is 120 inches long. Such a girdle would be intolerably heavy when worn round the waist, and it is possible that what was originally a sinker line for a seine net has been mislabeled as a waist girdle. My informants did not mention a girdle of this nature.

Breast Ornaments

301 431

Breast ornaments were made of flowers or more permanently of pearl shell or other shells. Leis (*yei*) are made of *tiale* flowers strung together on a strip of pandanus. More elaborately, *tiale* flowers are alternated with transverse slices of the ripe pandanus key. These are made and worn by young men and women, often as lovers' gifts.

301

Permanent leis of pearl or small sea shells are termed generically *yei*. One type of breast ornament (*yei liki ai*) is shown in figure 19,*a*. Another

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

No other sites visited revealed stones. Informants stated that during early missionary days, the stones were removed to build a causeway across the taro swamp, to make walls for stone houses, and to burn for lime, which, mixed with sand, provided the mortar for the new stone houses.

The pattern of low-walled, oval or circular religious enclosures with a central stone representation of a god is an unusual development in Polynesia and recalls the structures that Gill described for Niutao in the Ellice Islands which he visited in 1872. Gill mentions that the stone representative of the god Tangaloa was a plain upright slab. The religious structure adjoined the burial ground (a common Pukapukan pattern) and consisted of "an oval low enclosure, composed of flat stones, some higher than others, each representing a distinct divinity, so that the sacred men standing inside the enclosure—the people of course outside—could worship all the gods at once" (12,p.14). It is unfortunate for comparative study that Gill did not particularize these religious enclosures in more detail.

Commemorative stones, marking the shrine of an ancestor god on a sacred clearing (*yiongo*), consisted of a single upright stone set in the ground, or else several stones set on edge to form a rectangular structure two or more feet square, the enclosure being filled in with coral gravel. This type of commemorative shrine was similar to the seats (*pata*) of the priests in the god house (*wale atua*) and also to the low seat that was set before the stone representative of the god on the religious structure.

Graves

Formerly each cemetery was surrounded by a low, rectangular wall (*paapae*) of coral stones which demarcated the area set aside by the people of a lineage as their burial place. The area varied in size according to the numerical size of the lineage. Most of these walls have fallen into decay, but are observable on some cemeteries removed from the village. The stones are about 3 inches above ground and are undressed coral of different lengths and thicknesses.

Outside these walls are observable the stone *paepae* that marked the foundations of old houses of mourning (*wale matenga*). On one foundation are still seen the holes into which the wall posts of the house fitted; on another, rotting wooden posts from the dismantled house are lying on the foundation.

Within each cemetery, the graves are of three types: the modern Christian, enclosed, boxlike grave; the rectangular, open grave accorded formerly to people of rank; and the two-stone grave accorded formerly to commoners (pl.2,*B*).

Former custom was to bury with head to the east, feet to the west. Graves of chiefs (*aliki wolo* and *toui aliki*) were marked by eight stones—two at the head, two at

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

764
565

the feet, and two at each side; the grave of an executive peace officer (*yula*) was marked by eight stones—two at the head, three at the right (north) side, two at the left (south) side, and one at the foot; the grave of the executive officer or "prime minister" (*uvola*) was marked by seven stones—two at the head, two at each side, and one at the foot; the grave of a close relative of the chief was marked by five stones—two at the head, and one at the sides and feet. Graves of commoners (distant relatives in the chief's lineage) were marked by a simple headstone and a footstone. Burials of these undistinguished people were side by side, a few inches separating each headstone and footstone in a long grave. Thus over a grave 24 feet long, 8 feet wide, is a row of stones indicating that at least 16 people were buried side by side.

The gravestones of commoners are undressed coral, laid on the side, 6 inches to 2 feet wide and about 6 inches above ground. Gravestones of chiefs vary in size; an average stone is about 30 inches high, 15 inches wide, and 5 inches thick. The surfaces of all graves are covered with fine white coral gravel.

764
554

Much confusion exists among informants as to whether gravestones of particular shape or material were chosen to serve as signs of personal skills or peculiarities of the deceased:

[826]

Veti, for instance, feels that formerly it was common to use hard *kaupapa* coral conglomerate for a man's gravestone, softer *punga* coral for a woman's, symbolizing a cultural attitude that skulls of men are hard, those of women soft. He knew of no custom of symbolizing individual peculiarities. Another informant, Te Apa, suggested that formerly it was not unusual to mark the grave of a particularly expert fisherman with a stone whose top was bifurcated like a fish tail (pl. 2,*B*). If no naturally shaped stone was found, a stone might be roughly cut to serve the purpose; the grave of a champion (*toa*) at sports might be marked by a very large triangular stone. Pau made the most consistent, though at times confused, attempt to suggest a more elaborate symbolism for curiously shaped stones. According to him, the grave of an adult man was marked by coral stones laid on their sides about 9 inches above ground; that of a woman by stones on their sides, about 5 inches above ground; that of a child by smaller stones. If a man had two wives, he had two headstones, the children of his first marriage being buried to the left of one headstone, those of his second marriage to the right of the other headstone. The grave of a champion was marked by a tall stone, that of an expert fisherman by a stone with a naturally indented top, that of a priest by a naturally shaped stone that resembled a priest's headdress.

Contrary to these rationalizations, ordinary folk belief has no knowledge that gravestones are anything but rough, unpolished stones (*vato taukinokino*), chosen for the deceased according to the fancy of the survivors. This attitude suggests that the practice of selecting stones to symbolize personal qualities of the deceased was a matter of personal whim rather than an accepted pattern of Pukapukan culture. It is unlikely that acceptance of Christianity would militate against the memory or observance of such a custom if it was formerly in vogue, because death customs are tenacious even in a society subject to rapid change and because it is common Christian practice to engrave on gravestones particulars of a deceased person's abilities and character. In spite, therefore, of individual beliefs about the symbolism of gravestones, it is probably correct to assume that few people bothered to select stones to which symbolisms might be attached.

764

A number of separate graves on the atoll provide variation on the common type of burial stonework:

The grave of the Tongan warrior Taupeka, on the boundary between Yato and Loto villages, is a separate grave apart from the nearest lineage cemetery. It consists of 10 stones (originally 11), forming a rectangle 6 feet by 5 feet. Two stones form the east end of the grave, three the west end, three the south side, and two the north side. All

764 the stones are of undressed coral and of varying shapes, 7 to 30 inches long, 8 to 30 inches high, and 1 to 4 inches thick. The grave of the second Tongan warrior, Tokaipole, on the boundary between Loto and Ngake, consists of a double enclosure. The grave proper is now marked by five stones tracing a rectangle 8 feet long, 3 feet wide. This grave is enclosed by a low curbing 17 feet long, 7 feet 6 inches wide, of which there remain today 14 stones, each approximately 18 inches long, 6 inches thick, and 7 inches above ground. This grave is falling into ruins and many stones from the curbing have been removed.

The grave of a child in the cemetery of Walaugakula is a small rectangular enclosure 2 feet long, 1 foot 6 inches wide, made with small coral stones set on edge about 5 inches above ground. Pau noted that this was the grave of a dearly loved infant whose parents took this way of commemorating their love, instead of burying with a single headstone and footstone.

[766] The grave of the chief, Te Kula, is situated to the east of and separate from the cemetery of Motanga. It is 10 feet long, 3 feet 7 inches wide, and is marked by eight stones, each about 6 to 12 inches high. Next to this grave is that of his children who were all buried in a canoe. Their grave is 30 feet long, 5 feet wide and marked by 26 small stones, each about 8 inches long, 8 inches high, and 1 inch above the ground. The stones are both rectangular and triangular.

[768] On Motu Ko is a separate grave, on the outer beach, of Tuaua who was killed as a thief, and another more elaborate grave, at the point Matautu, of a man named Walakula and his two companions who broke the tapu of the reserve and were killed for their sacrilege. Their relatives erected gravestones in the shape of a double shield to commemorate their death. The inner shield has the base to the east, the apex to the west; the base is 6 feet long, the apex 6 feet from the base line. The outer shield follows the outline of the inner shield, being from 7 to 12 inches from it, narrower where stones have fallen in toward the inner shield. The inner shield consists of 14 stones, the outer of 20, ranging from 1 foot to 3 feet 4 inches wide, 3 inches to 18 inches high, and 1 inch to 7 inches thick. The stones are undressed, mixed conglomerate and coral. No reason can be given for the peculiar shape of this grave save that relatives wished to build a personal memorial to the deceased men.

Of the many graves examined, two only were found lying off the customary east-west direction. One is the grave, lying northeast by southwest, of a man in the Loto cemetery of Walaugakula. Pau stated that this grave was oriented to face the principal cemeteries of Yato village because during life the deceased gained a great reputation for his ability to compose chants which upheld the glory of Loto and ridiculed the other two villages, especially Yato. When he died, relatives oriented the grave as if the deceased were still "guarding" the honor of his village against the verbal assaults of Yato. The second grave also lies northeast by southwest, close to the grave of Te Kula and his children. The reason suggested for this orientation was that the deceased, a man named Maugea, was a close friend of Te Kula and wished to be buried next to the chief, but as his lineage gods differed from those of Te Kula, he requested that his relatives bury him facing the direction of the main religious structure of his god, Te Alaugaua.

211 Commemorative gravestones (*maali ola*) marking the place where a person was accidentally killed (though not buried) are of the usual undressed coral and mark out a rectangular area.

ARCHEOLOGY

172 Beyond the sinking of a trench across the site of an old religious structure, no opportunities presented themselves for the purposeful excavation of likely

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

sites. The only sites worth excavating on the atoll were old graves, but the fear of ghosts is so intense that none would allow such excavation for fear of punishment—possible death—by outraged spirits of the dead.

That such excavation, however, might be extremely fruitful is shown by an involuntary excavation that occurred during our stay on the atoll. Yepina, assisted by relatives and friends, was digging the grave for his grandson in a Ngake cemetery. A near-by grave which contained the skeletons of two young girls buried before white contact was unintentionally struck. Talainga, who was assisting, asked one of the men present to go to Yato to call me to see the objects contained in the grave. But Yepina, being in a hurry and feeling that he had committed an act of desecration in so clumsily opening the grave, refused to allow the messenger to leave the place. All the men present concurred, saying they had no wish to be plagued to death by the spirits of the two girls. Before Yepina covered the grave, Talainga was able to make rough sketches of a few of the objects in it and to note down others that he saw.

Among the objects close to the skeletons were one large basaltic adz; several *Tridacna*-shell adzes; many fishhooks including three pearl-shell hooks, two with barbs, the other a plain hook of the *tope* type; several shanks from composite pearl-shell bonito hooks, one with two projections on either side of the distal end of the shank; several pearl-shell points, evidently original parts of the same hooks; many pieces of pearl shell of different shapes which were probably at one time strung together to make the pearl-shell ornament called *ama titi ai*.

Talainga suggested when he told me of the incident that there were many more objects in the grave than he could note, so determined was Yepina to repair his error. General opinion was that the two girls must have been favorite children of a sorrowful father, who buried a wealth of objects with the two corpses to show the depth of his sorrows.

WORKING IN WOOD

Implements used by the Pukapukan craftsman for working in wood include the *Tridacna*-shell adz, the drill, a shell awl, a whale tooth or coral rock mallet, shark or ray skin and coral scrapers.

Adzes

Adzes (*toki*) were made of *Tridacna* shell (*ngalipayao*), as shown by Macgregor (20,fig.13).[1] They were attached directly to the haft (fig.21). No rotary or movable adz was known.

Basaltic material from which adzes might be made was not available on the atoll. Legends of early canoe voyages relate that returning Pukapukan navigators brought back to the atoll stone from which adzes were made. At any time, the number of these on Pukapuka must have been small, and they gained in value both from their more durable quality as working implements

[1] [See 2: McGregor, p. 46 — analyst.]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

613
764

PATERNAL LINEAGES

There are seven principal paternal lineages in Pukapuka. Each lineage is a *po*. The word *kainga* is used synonymously with *po*, but informants thought this usage modern. The term *po* is also applied to the burial ground associated with each paternal group. Other meanings of *po* are "night" and the "Underworld". When a man talks of his *po*, he means his paternal lineage and the piece of ground where he will be buried. The importance of the burial ground as giving a symbolic locus of reference for the varied functions of the lineage is shown by the fact that when asking the paternal lineage membership of a person one does not say: "What is his *po*?" but, "Where will he be buried?" (*Ka tanu i wea?*) The answer always provides the name of the burial ground. On the other hand, in narrative the name of the *po* is always used as an adjective to indicate paternal descent affiliation, as, "Ko Pakula, e tane Matanga" (Pakula was a man of Matanga *po*).

Membership in a paternal lineage is by birth or adoption. An individual is buried in the cemetery of his sociological father. A woman is buried in the cemetery of her father; her children, male and female, are buried in the cemetery of her husband. Each of the paternal lineages is divided into a number of smaller paternal sub-lineages called *wakavae*. Each major cemetery of the lineage is divided into a corresponding number of sections, also called *wakavae*. Hence a man and his children belong to a *po* but also to a *wakavae*. The *wakavae* may be regarded as a paternal sub-lineage, the *po* as a grouping of paternal sub-lineages into what is here termed a lineage. A final list of Pukapukan lineages and their sub-lineages is as follows:

613

Village	Paternal Lineage (Po)	Paternal Sub-lineage (Wakavae)
Ngake	Mailiwaia	Yalou, Aliki, Alia
	Matanga	Paku-i-tua, Te Manako, Waka-moe-ki-te-loto, Angialulu
Loto	Yangaliponepone or Tiketikowia	Wakavae-ki-muia, Yangaliponepone, Yamanaia
	I Tua	Wakavae Aliki, Wakavae-ki-muli, I Tua, Walanga-kula
Yato	Yamanaga	Wakavae-ki-muia, Wakavae-ki-muli
	Yavi	Tokalau, Matanga
	Yalenigo	Wakavae-ki-muia, Wakavae-muli-vae, Walegia

Note: Various lists of the lineages and sub-lineages were collected during our stay. The above list represents the names procured toward the end of our visit, and is a clarification of earlier lists. As with the names of maternal lineages (*mua*) and sub-lineages (*hviuanga*), there was a progressive clarification in the minds of informants as our investigation proceeded. Common, uninstructed opinion tends to confuse paternal lineage and sub-lineage, a natural tendency, perhaps, to promote one's sub-lineage to the status of a lineage. It is likely that the relative numerical strength of lineage and sub-lineage, and also their status, have fluctuated during the course of Pukapukan history owing to natural causes and to the predominance of certain personalities at certain times.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

Neither paternal lineage nor sub-lineage was exogamous or endogamous. Intra-marriage was governed by rules of consanguinity. No totem objects or prestige symbols were associated with any of the paternal lineages. Certain gods were associated with the paternal groups. (See p. 308.)

The amount of lineage localization in the two villages for which information is available is compairatively large, as is to be expected from the operation of the rule of patrilocal marital residence. Of 39 male heads of households in Ngake whose residence is patrilocal, 37 men or 95 percent are members of the two Ngake paternal lineages, Muliwutu and Matanga. In Yato, 27 out of 33, or 82 percent, are members of the three Yato paternal lineages, Yamaunga, Yayi, and Yalongo.

There is no mythological account of the origin of the patrilineal lineages. Informants make the simple statement that after the seismic wave that devastated the island thirteen generations ago, only 15 men and their families were left of the original population. From these men the present population has descended. Seven of the men founded anew and named patrilineal lineages from which, by a process of fissure when numbers became great, other minor sub-lineages split off. Nothing is known of the lineages previous to the seismic wave, but informants presume that there were in existence similar named patrilineal lineages.

Various instances of irregular lineage membership came to my attention.

Children of a Pukapukan woman and a non-Pukapukan husband, white or native, go to the mother's cemetery for burial; the husband also acquires membership in his wife's paternal lineage.

One Pukapukan whose wife is deceased, has remained, together with his children, in residence in the household of his father-in-law. For reasons of sentiment, he has arranged with his father-in-law for himself and his children to be buried in his late wife's cemetery, the cemetery of his father-in-law.

The child (*tama to take*) of an unmarried mother is a member of its mother's paternal lineage, unless later adopted by the mother's husband whom she marries. A child conceived out of wedlock, but born after its mother's marriage to a man not the physiological father of the child, is regarded as the child of his mother's husband and is a member of his paternal lineage; the husband becomes the sociological father of the child.

X is a *tama to take*, adopted into the paternal lineage of his maternal grandfather's father. His grandfather does not belong to that group, having been adopted into another. X's mother belongs to the lineage into which her father was adopted. Wishing for sentimental reasons that her son and offspring go to the same cemetery as her father, she is going to substitute for her son, and be herself buried in the lineage-cemetery into which he was adopted, so that he and his line may exchange groupings with her.

Only one instance is on record of sharing children between the lineages of the father and of the mother. The siblings—father, father's sister, father's brother—in household 45 of table 5, all belong to the paternal lineage of their mother. Three siblings, now dead, all went to the father's paternal lineage. No adoption was involved in this division of the children among the two groups. It was specifically described as an idiosyncrasy on the part of both parents for which no motivations could be advanced today, as the arrangement was made about 55 years ago. It is possible that the division was influenced by southern Cook Islands practice.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

The part played by the paternal lineages in regulating marriage, descent, succession, and inheritance, and the relative importance of maternal and paternal lineages in social organization are discussed elsewhere.

Close bonds unite a man to his paternal lineage and to his burial ground. Admittedly, he inherits land, coconut trees, and houses through his father, but beyond this, there is a real sentimental bond binding a man to his paternal grouping. It is always the paternal lineage and never the maternal lineage of a man that is mentioned at the beginning of each genealogy or story; informants somehow felt that by naming his paternal lineage, the hero of the story was placed and his status in the community accurately defined. The resident agent has had great difficulty in persuading the people that some cemeteries are too close to the villages to accord with ideals of modern public health. The conflict has become acute when the agent has insisted that the cemeteries be closed or the villages moved elsewhere. Either alternative has seemed impossible to the people of the lineage affected, and in one prohibited cemetery a burial was prevented only by placing the Union Jack across the already gaping grave and appealing to the loyalty of the people not to touch the sacred emblem of Pax Britannica.

The paternal lineage does not seem to possess any formal structural organization. There is no council of the men of the group. Formerly each lineage had its constituted priests who worshiped the gods of the lineage in religious structures erected on lands of the group. Each lineage had a secular leader, with the rank, in a minor lineage, of sub-chief (*langatila*), in a major lineage, of high chief (*aliki*) or chief (*uwi aliki*). (See pp. 234-237.) Doubt exists in the minds of informants as to whether the word *langatila* is a Pukapukan word; some informants insist that it is not and that the correct designation for a minor chief was formerly *uwi aliki*, a collective word also applied, apparently, to an individual. Today *langatila* and the Rarotongan word *matuiapo* are used to designate the two groups of minor chiefs.

LINEAGE AND VILLAGE

For feasts, sports, and games, the community divided itself into smaller units based upon paternal lineage (*yolongo* unit), maternal lineage (*uwa* unit) or village membership (*matoyiapa* unit, sometimes called *lalu kakai*), depending upon the specific activity. Membership in the *yolongo* unit is modified by the rule of patrilocal residence so that children adopted elsewhere and members of the lineage married into another village are excluded while persons residing with the patrilineal group through marriage or adoption are included.

Team membership for fishing and sporting contests was formerly always based on maternal lineage membership. One moiety contested against another moiety. At a later

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

Disposition of Children

586 No rule for the disposition of children of divorced or separated parents can be established from practice. Each situation is dealt with on its merits when it arises. Some informants felt that children should follow the mother as they belonged to her maternal descent group; others insisted that children should remain with the father as they belong to his paternal descent group. The divorce of parents does not alter either the maternal or paternal lineage affiliation of children.

Children of marriages terminated by the death of one mate continue to reside with the surviving parent, whether or not he or she remates. Where circumstances demand, children are shared either by simple residence or adoption among their bilateral kin.

DEATH

Mourning

764 Parents or other close relatives attend the corpse (*mate*) in the house where death occurred.

They first wash the corpse, then place it on a special pandanus mat (*epaepa*) made for the deceased when he reached sociological adulthood by his mother or other close female relative, and since kept in the rafters of the house. For some corpses attendants make a sort of tentlike enclosure called *ie* by sewing four pandanus mats (*hie*) together. They place the tent on top of the corpse and go under it to dress the corpse in a *malo* mate, if a male—a short pandanus malo only long enough for one turn between the thighs and round the waist, made by the deceased's mother in advance and reserved for this purpose—in a kilt, if female. They place a *yoso* necklace of pearl shell round the neck and tie a *hiki ai* (string of pearl or other valuable shells) round the waist. They then remove the tent and place the corpse on view. For other corpses the tent is dispensed with and the corpse prepared in the open house. If the individual dies with the mouth open, the mouth is not closed; it is covered nowadays with a black rag to make the face look better and to keep the flies out. The eyes are always closed after death, sometimes before it it is obvious that death is imminent.

[763]

If for any reason it is desired to hold the mourning (*tangi*) elsewhere, the dressed corpse is shifted to a suitable house owned by a relative. A desirable house is a large one to accommodate the crowd of mourners, and cool to refresh the mourners during their long vigil. One corpse that I saw being thus moved to a more appropriate house was rolled in a sheet and carried by the principal male mourners. A crowd of children preceded the corpse and disported themselves, laughing and wrestling. Behind followed two old women, sisters of the deceased, weeping aloud and crying out after the deceased sister.

When the news is spread through the villages that there has been a death, the mourners, close and distant relatives of the deceased, go immediately to the house where the corpse is laid out. Wailing continuously, they formerly

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

walked hunched-up, cutting their bodies with sharp shells or pieces of coral. They did not walk along the main road between the villages but proceeded through the bush or by back paths. The mourners were not considered unclean. Their hearts were too full of sorrow for them to wish to meet unaffected people. They were not responsible for their actions, so intense was their grief. Hence it was better for them to keep away from the main group of people while in this highly emotionalized state of grief-stricken frenzy. Similarly, mourners going from one cemetery, where they had been watching over the grave of one relative, to another cemetery to take up residence over the grave of another just buried, also walked by the back paths so that their grief would not be communicated to the general populace. The route taken by mourners is called *te ala o te tupua* (the path of the creatures).

Arrived at the house of death (*nale mate*), the mourners walked once or twice around the house, wailing the while and still bent double—then they entered and joined those within. By the time all the mourners had gathered, the corpse was covered or wrapped (*nakoiuye*) in another mat, leaving only the face uncovered.

It was taga for any relative or friend to uncover the corpse to take a last look at it. This taga is explained as a precaution to prevent bereaved spouses or cousins-in-avoidance (*nale atua*) from throwing off the mat and lying down beside the corpse, or lying on top of it. By all accounts this taga was frequently broken, especially by cousins. It was assumed that the grief of a cousin-in-avoidance would be more intense and frenzied than that of any other close relative. It was further assumed that the surviving cousin would seek from the dead what was denied by the living. This last frenzy of the cousin, leading to passionate embraces, even intercourse (termed in this context *nofo-aroaga*), though not socially approved, was at the same time highly excusable. When it occurred it produced no horror or fear in the minds of the mourners. It was considered unseemly, a little extreme in the display of affection. Informants discussed the matter as if it had been a normal expectation in death scenes; there is no record of its happening in recent times. The inference is that it occurred much more frequently in pre-missionary times when the functioning of the kinship avoidance was so rigorous as to necessitate a sufficient give in the social fabric to provide a possible outlet for bunked-up emotions.

As each principal mourner arrives at the house of death, he presents to the corpse a death gift (*matonga*) of mats, malos, pearl-shell necklaces, fish-hooks, or other valuables, which he places on the corpse, then smells[18] (*yongi*) the corpse before retiring to a suitable position among the mourners. Each visitor also brings a gift of mats or tako, which is placed aside for later division. The close relatives of both sexes sit or lie on the floor in a circle round the corpse. Those most affected half recline across the corpse, burying their faces in the body of the deceased and encircling their arms round it in spacial frenzies of grief. Other relatives stand by, stamp their feet, move their arms in swaying motions, and cry out to the deceased whom they

[18] A literal translation. The Pukapukan greeting is both inhalation and nose pressure with emphasis on repeated inhalations.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

764 address by relationship terms. A close relative of the deceased who is unable because of illness to go to the house in which the body lies, conducts his own wake, wailing through the night in his own home, however distant. More distant relatives and friends who come to pay their last respects to the deceased occupy places farther away from the corpse. They sit or lie on the ground within and outside the house. Children play about among the mourners; babies are fed when they awake and are then expected to go to sleep again. The wake is called *wakaalanga*. The word *tangi* is applied both to 764 the death-chanting and to the type of chant usually recited over a corpse.

533 Two groups of mourners, principally women, are informally constituted, each responsible for starting (*uyu*) alternate chants, which are taken up by all present. The mourners not greatly moved by the death take every opportunity to provide relief. Thus the alternate groups of women discuss in stage whispers what chant they shall start next. They begin one chant, get halfway through, and then forget the continuation, letting the chant trail off in the air with any amount of half-suppressed giggles. As each chant ends with a loud upward sweep of the voices, the chief mourners break out with sobs and wailings; but as this is considered more strenuous than chanting, every effort is made to start the next chant immediately. Formerly the chief mourners continued to cut themselves with sharp instruments throughout the wake. With blood pouring from their cuts, they became more and more excited, swaying wildly to the rhythm of the chanting. The excitement was climaxed if a mourner of opposite sex to the deceased tore off his malo or kilt and flung himself on the body.

764 At dusk, a coconut-shell fire or, today, a smoky kerosene lantern, is lit. Crowds of friends who have been working during the day turn up for the evening. Babies play about; older people get quiet amusement from watching the antics of the young; girls and boys flirt on the outskirts of the crowd. Those who can not get into the house of death sit beside the road on a grassy stretch, cool themselves in the night breezes, and gossip to their hearts' content.

The wake lasts from 18 to 24 hours, for the remainder of the day or night when death occurred until sometime during the following day. Today active church members chant during the day and hold a hymn-singing festival at night. More passive members of the church chant the whole time and finish up with no voices at all, bleary eyes, and general bad temper.

For interment (*tanunga*) the corpse is wrapped up securely in a number of mats. All the death presents are placed on the breast of the corpse, and the whole is securely trussed with sennit. Today it is customary to saw a piece from a canoe and make this into a wooden coffin, but this was never done formerly. A shallow grave (*lua* or *tuluma*) is dug in an east to west line in the cemetery (*po*) to which the deceased belongs, formerly with digging stick and coconut shells, today with pick and shovel. Followed by all the mourners and friends, the corpse is carried by the men to the grave. Burial is in the extended position; neither sitting interment nor flexed burial of any type was known. The corpse is placed in the grave with the head pointing to the east, the feet pointing to the west.

764 The rationalization for this position is that when the soul stands up to go to the 775 Underworld, it will face to the west. Insofar, however, as the entrance to the Underworld is said to be just beyond the reef off the northeast side of Wale, it would seem

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

more logical to bury the corpse with the head facing this direction. It is likely, I think, that the idea of the corpse facing the west is a survival of the common Polynesian concept that the point of departure for the soul on its way to the Underworld is always to the west.

After the corpse is covered with the coral and sand dug from the grave, a food division is made among all the people who attended the wake whether or not they brought food or special gifts for the corpse. Where the ceremony is on a large scale, all the people in the village of the chief mourners send nuts to the deceased to enable his family to make a large food division in keeping with its dignity. Further nuts are obtained by stripping the row or rows of coconut trees planted round the border of each cemetery, reserved for use in death divisions and tapu for ordinary purposes. They are called *nis wakavale* (nuts to tame) with the idea, informants suggested, of taming or satisfying the spirit of the dead person, who would not go to the Underworld happy unless he knew that honor had been satisfied by a food division among all those who had attended his wake. For an especially impressive division, pigs, fish, and prepared talo are also divided among the mourners.

The close bilateral relatives of the deceased formerly remained at the cemetery to watch the grave for a period of one or two moons. This mourning period was termed *taupo*. The mourners lived in a permanent house (*wale matenga*, death house) built in each cemetery. The relatives ate and slept by the grave, watching over it continually. The men might leave for a time to fish, the women to get talo which they prepared in a cook house (*wale imu*) close to the death house. Relatives brought food at regular intervals to the mourners. Between the two big cemeteries of Muliwutu and Matanga lineages in Ngake there is a pile of *Tridacna* shells, a sort of midden heap, approximately 20 feet long, 10 feet wide, and 4 feet high in some parts—silent witness of the many years these cemeteries have been in use and of the popularity of clam flesh with mourners. Throughout the period fresh nuts, fish, and talo for the soul to eat if it came back at any time from the Underworld were hung up outside the house of mourning by cords tied to the eaves purlins. It is evident that thieves might sometimes steal this food, for there is a special name, *tangata kaiyopu*, for such a thief.

On the second or third day after interment the mourners beautified (*wokaloloi*) the grave by spreading over it white coral pebbles carried in coconut baskets (*kete*) from the outer beaches. These pebbles were not replaced when they became weather-worn and grey. The work on the grave completed, a food division, called *puyia wale*, was made by the deceased's relatives among all those who attended the mourning, sat with the corpse, or (today) helped to build the coffin, dig the grave, carry the corpse to the grave, or beautify the grave.

When the deceased's closest relative felt that the mourners' hearts were

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

mourners placed the stones (p. 161) round the grave and returned to their homes. There is no record that a seclusion (*kaitau*) was ever held in conjunction with the mourning for a chief. There was no tapu period after his death for the general populace: mourning observances were carried out by the close relatives of the chief without affecting the people of the island.

Accidental Death

The body of a person killed by falling from a tree, by lightning, or any other mishap on Motu Ko or Motu Kotawa is taken back to Wale for burial in the lineage cemetery. At the place of the accident a second grave is dug, filled in again, and marked by stones. This is the grave of the spirit that is supposed to linger about the place of death. The gravestones (*mauli ola*) serve as a memorial (*wakamailongo*) to the accidental death (*mate yili*). When formerly the spirit of one accidentally killed later visited a kinsman in a dream, the deceased became an ancestor god (*atua tangata*) of his paternal lineage, and the gravestones served as a shrine for the god. A sacred clearing (*yionga mate*) was made between the shrine and the beach as a tapu place reserved for the god.

The recovered body of a man drowned at sea is buried like any other. But a man drowned at sea whose body is not recovered, is commemorated by a gravestone (*mauli ola*), which is set up over a grave for his spirit on the beach opposite the place where he was last seen. His relatives hold a wake in his house and then go to mourn briefly at his gravestone. His grave would also be a shrine if he became an ancestor god. If they did not become gods, men who died at sea and whose bodies were not recovered became ocean spirits or else the ancestors or relatives of fish and other sea animals. Nothing is known of the Samoan custom of catching an animal or insect in a mat and burying this in the grave in place of the body.

Men killed by reserve land guards for violating the tapus of the reserves were usually interred in graves dug at the place of their death. Because of the intimate tie between cemetery and paternal lineage, burial in any other place than the lineage plot was a degrading fate for any man.

Present-day Practice

Today those death customs no longer followed out in full have been modified without altering the general pattern. Mourners do not live at the death house for the mourning period. Instead one or two relatives keep watch over the grave during the day, returning to the village to sleep at night. All the immediate relatives go to live in the house of the deceased for a month or more to mourn (*toupo*). Most of them merely sleep in this house, going home to eat during the day. In line with the withdrawal of mourners from village activities in former times, the chief mourners today refrain from going to church for several weeks after the deceased is buried.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

Cultural Attitude Toward Death

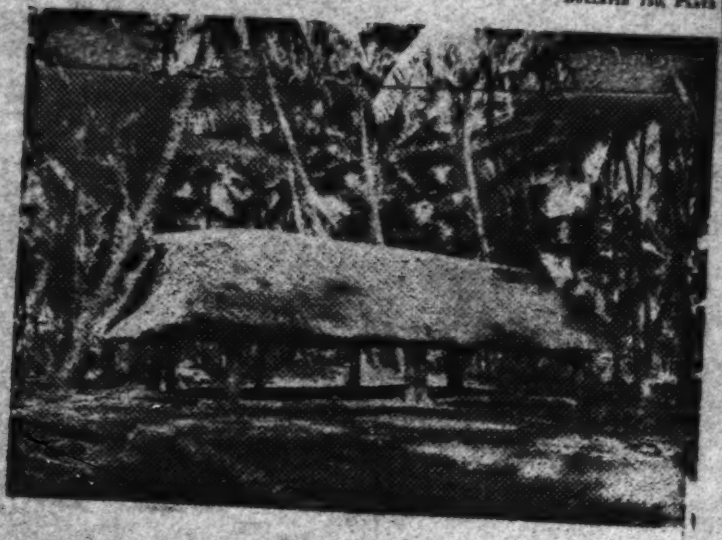
It is a mistake to interpret any of these patterns of death behavior as due to fear of contamination from contact with the corpse. There are no purification rites, no special class of corpse attendants, and no fear of the corpse, of the property of the deceased, or of the house in which he died. The underlying idea in mourning is one of overwhelming sorrow which unfits the mourners for ordinary social intercourse. It is best for them to live in retirement until the sorrow has drained away and the heart is made anew by the passage of time. The validity of this feeling is borne out by the attitude of the Pukapukans toward the cemetery itself. Unlike our own feeling that a cemetery is consecrated ground, where attitudes of quietness and respect are in order, the Pukapukan feels that no different behavior is required in a cemetery from that allowable on a main road; and this holds true even if there are mourners watching the grave. Trails to taro beds, outer beach, and coconut lands lead through the cemeteries, and people pass to and fro at all times. If one goes to a cemetery to a funeral or to study gravestone construction, it is legitimate to joke, laugh, and be noisy. One may sit down on headstones, rest one's feet on a grave, even sit on a grave; one may smoke in the cemetery, expectorate anywhere, and generally do anything one wishes. In taking a short cut through a cemetery one may walk over graves, tramp where one will. These things are not only permissible but are done every day by the native Pukapukans. In many of the cemeteries close to the villages, children play about the headstones, clothes are laid out on the graves to bleach, pandanus leaves are dried close by, and coconuts are stacked against the headstones. There is a prevailing feeling of great familiarity, none at all of holy awe or religious fear, whether the cemetery is mainly pagan Pukapukan or Christian Pukapukan. Along with this familiarity during daylight goes an intense fear of the spirits of the dead at night, and he is a brave Pukapukan indeed who would walk through a cemetery at night, even in full moonlight. But this is a fear of spirits of the dead and does not affect the point that the Pukapukan attitude toward death is one of realism and matter-of-factness in an extreme degree.

PERSONALITY JUDGMENTS

It is not easy to get at the meanings of words used in characterizing people in a society such as that of Pukapuka, where everyone gossips intensely about his neighbors but where no one admits that such gossip ever occurs. Any informant could give a list of many words, all suggesting interesting personality types; but when asked to apply these words to the behavior of particular people in the community, none would mention names but were content with vague references. Only in the greatest secrecy, for instance, did one give the name of a woman who was generally considered

1;Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

341



264
257

B

HOUSE AND CEMETERY. *A*, LARGE HOUSE OF THE *WALE ATUA* TYPE AT THE PLACE MATALA IN THE RESERVE OF UTA. USED TODAY BY THE RESERVE GUARD; ONE ORIGINAL CORNER POST AND ONE SIDE POST HAVE BEEN REINFORCED BY NEW POSTS. *B*, VIEW OF THE CEMETERY OF TUA LINEAGE OF LOTO VILLAGE; THREE BOX GRAVES IN CENTER ARE CHRISTIAN; REMAINING GRAVES AND STONES ARE PRE-MISSIONARY AND SHOW VARIOUS STYLES OF STONEWORK; BECAUSE OF ITS PROXIMITY TO THE VILLAGE, MATURED COCONUTS ARE STORED HERE UNTIL NEEDED.

2: Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans
764

[Information in this source which is either inadequate, incorrect or duplication has only been filed in category 116: for graves, see pp. 25-27.]

2:Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans

764

a

b

FIGURE 3.—Ancient grave forms: *a*, grave of Tuanua, rectangle 12 feet 8 inches by 4 feet 9 inches; head slab 2 feet 7 inches high; *b*, grave of Taupeloa, Tongan or Samoan warrior who settled on Motu Koe Islet.

2;Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans

●764

PLATE 1.—Burial marae of high chiefs showing triangular, rectangular, and "carved" types of grave stones.

539 white, Tolu on the cream colored sea, Wa in the reddish sea, Lima in the red sea, Ono in the yellow, Witu in the orange, Valu in the dark sea, Iva in the black and Laungaulu in the sea where the sun's rays fell.

Tayi launched his canoe. He went to his parents and sorrowed over them, embracing them in farewell. Then he wrapped and tied his parents in mats, placed the bundle in the bow of his canoe and paddled through the many seas. As he passed through the white sea, Lua asked as to the bundle on the bow but, Tayi replied that it was only Tikinau and Tekenau. He answered this in all the seas as he passed each of his brothers fishing in his favorite water. In the end Tayi came to the sea colored like the feces of the octopus. He tied his parents to two large stones and dropped the bundles overboard. They sank below to the bottom of the ocean. Laungaulu thought of the two things that had been piled high on the bow of his brother's canoe. He was puzzled, and inside him he felt that he had lost his two parents.

The Turtles of Tatamanu

Tatamanu was a chief much given to bad things such as eating secretly and being stingy. One day he went to the back of the island where he saw a turtle. He did not kill the turtle but merely speared it. He removed its fat, its liver and one piece of flesh, eating these foods secretly after he had let the turtle escape. Many turtles did he capture in this way. There came a time when his wife was pregnant. Her moons finished, she gave birth to her child. When it fell to the ground, the people looked. The child of Tatamanu was crawling like a turtle. Tatamanu confessed his secret sins, but it was of no use. Not one of his many children was born like a human being; all were made like turtles.

Then Tatamanu wailed to his parents, his brothers and sisters. "Don't bury me in the cemetery of my fathers. Separate my grave so that I am in one place and my children in another." They buried Tatamanu in a place all alone by the road of Te-kulanga. Even today, people who go past this place say, "There is the cemetery of Tatamanu, a stingy person and one who ate in secret. He was disowned and thrown out by his ancestors." (9)

[764] 9. There was an intimate connection between the individual, his paternal lineage, and the cemetery which bore the same name as the lineage. The cemetery was so much a part of the sentiments constellated round the lineage group that burial in any other place than the lineage

The Woman of Stone

539 Luka the husband and Leiakunavai his wife lived in the middle of the island. Leikunavai gave birth to three children. The eldest born was a girl, Yuyulu. The second was a boy, Lapakiuila. The third was a girl, Yinalangaivaka. Then Leiakunavai became pregnant for a fourth time.

Luka thought he would go fishing to net tiwitiwi fish. He and his wife anchored their canoe in the lagoon. Luka dived for clams to use as bait. He let down his net and carried on his fishing. Then it began to rain. Luka was underwater arranging his net when a stone fell onto the canoe. It had the same shape and form as his wife, Leiakunavai. When Luka came to the surface there were two women in his canoe and because both had the same form and looks, Luka was at loss to know which was his wife. He questioned the two women. Both his wife and the rock woman claimed to be Leiakunavai. It was hard for Luka to know which to throw from his canoe. He threw out his real wife. Leiakunavai drifted out to sea while Luka and the rock paddled back to the island. The rock woman went to Luka's home where she lived with him, but she she had no child within her, her abdomen was swollen rock merely.

Leiakunavai drifted at sea. She prayed to the gods and they placed a rock for her to rest her toes on. She prayed again and the rock slowly grew in size until it reached her navel, until it was red on top, until it was as big as an island, until it was covered with coconut and Pandanus trees. Here, on the island called Lotutu, Leiakunavai lived and gave birth to twins named Te-mangaitua and Te-mangaialo. These three lived together and the twins grew up. One day they asked their mother as to the identity of their father, but the mother answered that their only father was the posts of the house. Then the children called on the posts to eat the food placed before them, but the posts would not eat. Again they questioned their mother and this time she answered that Luka was their father. She charged the twins to seek out their father's home and to return with their elder sisters. On no account, however, were they to return with Luka. If she saw Luka, Leiakunavai warned them she would turn into a rat and hide herself in a Pandanus log.

[764] 9. (continued) burial ground was unthinkable, and where this was decreed by island authorities, was tantamount to the deepest disgrace.

539 I te longo kino na pa mai te matawenua!	Ah evil the news come to me from the point of the island!
E tuia mai koe la lunga, e tui toyina ko te ngutuala.	We take your body high-lifted, seized by mourners, it falls to the road.
To alaala wakamalili.	In a dream you woke me, shocked me.
To longo kino, mimia kiai o tangata.	Now your evil news gathers the crowding people.
Tukapa wua au ia koe; vayia io au pe te aku.	I dance, for you only my grief; I cut myself as bonito flesh is cut.
Yui ai to kili tauyala.	Would that I could follow your lovely skin.
Na wakatuyeina ko te yuaki--	Covered is your body with the tapu mat--(2)
Na to toku palo ia koe.	Stunned and stricken am I by your death.
Na ai te tama koa mate nei? Na Aloyiva te kula pupuni,	Whose is the dead child here? Of Aloyiva is the infant,
Loa ngalo i tana muli tuluma, koa unuia laoia i te amonga manu.	Lost from his treasure basket, (3) choked, removed from the bird-symbolled lineage.
Te aloa yopu wakatato, napenape ma toku kano manava,	Your love holds us chanting, your thoughts rise in my stomach,
E vayia io toku kili, koa taukuiakula	I cut my skin, it is crimson red

[764] 2. The mat with which the corpse was covered during the mourning might not be removed. This was to restrain expressions of grief which would be increased many times by the sight of the deceased's features.

3. The treasure basket is an inadequate translation for the plaited receptacle in which a man kept his most valuable and cherished pearl-shell fishhooks; by metaphor the young girl is likened to a precious hook lost from its container.

793 If the priest has been wholly attentive to his duties, and has
834 been continent the night before the favor is asked, then the
226 gods turn a favorable answer and fishing is successful.

227 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 58--analyst.] A
286 kaloma net, e.g., a net used for small beach fish, is made of uka, 10-12 fathoms long, and 6-9 feet deep. It might require 2-3 years to make. The mesh is very small. Vai pule shells were attached to the bottom of the net to serve as weights, and sections of pukama wood were attached at the top to serve as floats. Hauling ropes of kawa tau were served with uka, and attached to the ends of the net.

854 The Pukapukan infant is fed when he is hungry. He plays
855 when he has energy. He sleeps when he is tired. He does
863 any or all these things at any time of the day or night, almost any time, because he mercifully does tend to sleep for most of the night, provided he is young enough, and when he is older, what matters it if he does or not? He can look after himself by this time and so not trouble his elders. The Pukapukan child has no feeding difficulties. If he is not hungry, he does not eat. The oler child takes his food share away, and either stores it up for a hungry hour or else shares it with another. Nor has the child any excretory difficulties. He is not badly scolded if he dirties his mat; the mat is easily cleaned and so is he by being dropped into the sea. And soon, since no one pays much attention to his excreta, and excretion is considered as natural in this society as eating, he soon learns to go to the sea himself whenever he has need to.

764 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 162--analyst.] (From Pau--doubt as to accuracy) Gravestones for children: small stones of any material about 8-9 inches high. Young boy, not wakatane: the stone is placed in the ground with its long side upright. Young girl, not w'wawine: the stone is placed in the ground with its long side on the ground. Children will be buried close together, with the head and feet stones touching those of the next grave. There is no feeling about keeping apart in death wale atua even if they should happen to belong to the same po. Stones for children will be unshaped punga.

285 Note that the making of baskets with handles was not an old
177 Pukapukan custom, but has been introduced, most likely from Rarotonga. Even today these baskets have not any other use save as Bible carriers on Sunday. Their place in Pukapuka was